

will both fetch and carry, and which will be paid for mostly in bullion. These are but a portion of the advantages offered by this route for the road.

There are the Mormons of Deseret and the people of New Mexico, who have now, and for years will continue to have, as much as they can do in obtaining from the wild beast and the savage of the forest, and in subduing the earth with the hoe and plough. As with our northwestern and southern States, several generations will probably pass away before they can be made to be sufficiently subdued to turn their attention to manufacturing. They will therefore afford to the manufacturers of the East an immense business over this railroad. The old Santa Fe trade that was carried on by mules will be nothing in comparison to it.

The people of the eastern States especially have a stake deeply and richly set in this road; and therefore, for sectional and moral as well as great national considerations, it should be invoked to come forward to the aid of the great high tower of national defence, of power, and of greatness, and to unite with the people of the Memphis convention in declaring themselves in favor of the route, and in pledging themselves to go for it by that route which, being practicable, the best subserve the great purposes of national defence.

The Memphis convention, with a patriotism and a broad feeling of true nationality which is beyond praise, have made all local prejudices and sectional jealousies, and declared itself in favor of the road to begin at the best point and to take the most suitable route, wherever that point and that route shall be found to lie. It asked for the necessary surveys and examinations of the different routes, and expressed the opinion that the route commencing at the San Diego, thence up the valley of the Gila to the borders of Texas, between the parallels of 32° and 33° of north latitude, and thence to some point on the Mississippi, between the mouth of the Ohio and the mouth of the Arkansas, was worthy of particular examination. The convention acknowledged, what we all feel, that information is wanting to enable us to decide as to the best route. The routes which seemed most to occupy the attention of the convention were, the route by the mouth of the Arkansas from Memphis, from St. Louis, and from some part intermediate between these two, as from the mouth of the Ohio to the San Francisco or Monterey. The delegates from the northern valley States were in favor of a still more northern route.

Now, in order properly to understand the claims of these several routes, let us suppose that, as far as topographical features and facilities for constructing the road are concerned, all these several routes shall be found equally practicable. Upon what principle is the choice of routes to be made? That route should be selected which, being topographically practicable, will best subserve the great purposes of national defence.

As far as it can be done consistently with this great and prime object, this route may be modified so as better to subserve the great interests of commerce in peace; and its eastern terminus may be located so as to be most accessible to all the States and convenient to the people. In that place, let us see (always supposing all the routes equally practicable) which will best subserve the great object of national defence. The eastern terminus of that route is obviously the navy yard at Memphis. The great naval resources of the Mississippi valley in war are to be gathered, and from which sails and cordage, rigging, provisions, and every item in the catalogue of ship chandlery, with men, guns, and munitions of war, are to be sent upon the Pacific coast, and to the various branches to San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco. If government do not build branches to these posts in the Pacific, our citizens will.

The southern route is the best for national defence, because it will not be obstructed by the snows of winter, and will, therefore, be available for the purposes of its creation at all times of the year. This route is better than one further to the north would be, because it would enable the government, at least cost, to deal with less risk of life, to preserve the nation's faith, solemnly pledged before the world by treaty, to protect Mexico from Indian incursions.

With or without this road, military posts must be established along that frontier to carry out this article of the treaty. Having the road, a smaller force will be required for this service, and the same posts can execute the treaty, protect the road, and assist to keep it in repair, also. Therefore, as a means of national defence, as a work of national defence, and as a measure of economy to the nation, this route is to be preferred, always supposing it to be practicable as regards topography. Another consideration in favor of the southern route would be the impulse which the road would give to the working of the silver mines of Mexico, and to the commerce with that country, for which it would serve as a channel, and to which allusion has already been made.

This work is to be built by the States out of a general fund, and for the common good. It should, therefore, commence at some central point on the Mississippi river, and which should be that point which is the most convenient to all the States for access to it.

Nature and the internal improvements of the States indicate clearly enough where this point is.

It is that point which is on the Mississippi river, and is midway the valley, between the head of the Gulf and the foot of the lakes.

It is that point between which and the Gulf the navigation of the river is at all times open.

It is that point which the people of Iowa, Wisconsin, and Missouri can reach with the advantages of downstream navigation.

It is that point which is accessible to Illinois, Michigan, and the lake country, through the Illinois canal, and which is also of convenient access to Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, and parts of Kentucky and Virginia, by the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.

It is that point towards which Alabama, Florida, Georgia, the two Carolinas, and Virginia are projecting and extending their railroads.

It is that point the route from which should be accessible to Texas and Arkansas, as well as all the States; and that point is the city of Memphis, in the State of Tennessee. Memphis is 500 miles from the Gulf, and 840 miles from Michigan. It would be more convenient to Missouri, Iowa, and Wisconsin, to meet the terminus of the railroad at St. Louis; but it would not add so much to their convenience as it would take from the convenience of Texas, Tennessee, Arkansas, and other southern States.

Pennsylvania extends from the sea to the lakes, and the people of all the States to the east of her who wish to travel by railroad to California, must cross her borders to get to the terminus of the Pacific road. Pennsylvania terminus and route be most convenient to her citizens will be most convenient also to the citizens of the States to the east of her.

The routes of travel and channels of communication between Pennsylvania and the Mississippi river are various, and they are increasing in number; and as a matter of convenience to her people and those of New England, it will be about the same, whether they have to come to Memphis or go to St. Louis, to get upon the road. If they come by the lakes they will find St. Louis most convenient; if they come by way of Pittsburgh, they will find Memphis quite as convenient as St. Louis. But if they come by sea to New Orleans or Charleston, or by Baltimore and the Chesapeake, or by the Tennessee railroad, the people of New England and New York will, in every one of these cases, find Memphis the most convenient point of departure for California.

But, as the road is to be built by the common property of all the States, and as they expect that the value of the public lands in the States through which this road is to run will be increased thereby, they may probably object to the Memphis route on account of Texas, and may not without some ground, since the route is apparently not so direct as the route by the Gulf, and the collateral inducements for them to build the road is to be found in the expectation that it will greatly enhance the price and the sales of the public lands in the States and Territories through which it may pass.

If Memphis be adopted as the terminus, the road will probably pass through Texas, in which the Federal government owns no lands. They belong to Texas. The road will vastly increase their value, and the older States may object that their common property shall be so applied as to benefit one member of the Union at the expense of all the rest, and that their expense through Texas would benefit Texas.

It is therefore submitted to the justice and patriotism of the people of Texas whether it would not be wise on their part to imitate to some extent the example of Virginia, in the noble disposition which she made of her northwestern territory. That gallant old State had the right of eminent domain over Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, but she generously ceded it all to the nation, and it was accepted without condition, save an exception the slavery or involuntary servitude should not exist there forever. The extent of the imitation suggested in behalf of Texas is that that State should concede at once and forthwith so much of her lands belonging to the State as may be necessary to carry the road through the State. Such an act of generosity would not be without its reward. There is in Texas and the contiguous territory an immense region which is a natural vineyard. The vines are cropped by the buffalo and the wild beasts; thus, indeed, they produce the finest of grapes, which are pronounced by the German emigrants who are preparing to